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to hoe her ground-nut plot and may have a small ground-nut plot of his own. Sometimes he will work short spells with his father on the home farm. He may have a fowl or two of his own and will be trying to breed chickens and guinea-fowl. He is thinking of farming and of the breeding of poultry and livestock in the same terms as his father does. A girl of 9 or 10 is learning from her mother how to cook, how to beat floors and plaster walls, how to carry out all the routine domestic duties of a housewife. She is acquiring the woman's view of life centred on marriage and motherhood.

On the economic side the child's world has become differentiated into two divisions in accordance with the sexual division of labour. It has become correspondingly differentiated on the structural side into a sphere of masculine interests and dominance and a sphere of feminine interests and dominance—overlapping spheres, it is true, but still with differences of major emphasis. At sowing time and harvest time, when a house is being built, a funeral made, or a sacrifice carried out, a boy is with the men, sometimes lending a hand and so acquiring the right ways of doing things, as often as not weaving himself in and out of the activity, together with his friends, in play.

It is striking to see how boys at this stage identify themselves with their fathers in speech, gesture, and behaviour, and this gives a bias to their character for life. Nindɔyat of Zubiuŋ's three boys, from the oldest, aged about 20, to the youngest, aged about 7, had their father's arrogant, vulgar egotism. Ɔmara's three sons, coming about the same age range, were, like their father, quiet, modest, and self-effacing. Samane's two small boys of about 7 or 8, who always followed him about like two pups, had his engaging swagger and blunt self-confidence. And one sees it, also, in the way a small boy will hector his mother—for instance, when the family is out sowing or lifting ground-nuts—in exactly the tone of voice and manner that his father uses. Little girls identify themselves in the same way with their mothers both in the work they do and in their ways of behaving. I used to learn a great deal about the opinions and personal attitudes of men and women from the gossip brought to me by their children. By the age of 8 or 9 a girl feels herself to belong to the women. She talks with disdain of her 5-year-old playmate or sister who still eats fowl and she is full of the women's gossip of babies and pregnancies and marriages.

Up to the age of about 5 a child is allowed much latitude in conforming to the standards and values of Tale culture. By the age of 8 or 9 it is 'acquiring sense (*ŋɔŋa yam*)', beginning to understand these standards and values and is expected to conform to them as far as its physical and social maturity permit. Its parents will henceforth assert their authority and exercise discipline to assure this, and thence comes a further social and emotional differentiation of the parents. Properly speaking it is only the father who exercises authority over a child; a mother rules her child

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593 857 [155] Once a smaller boy who was with them hit Maŋya. Maŋya turned furiously on the small boy; but it was somewhat comical to see Tɛndaaŋbon equally angry with the assailant. Like many full or half-siblings of about the same age and the same sex, these two boys were extraordinarily alike in character, modelling themselves obviously on their father. They had his blunt and honest habits of speech, his diligence and readiness to oblige, and a sense of responsibility beyond their years.

Until one of them reaches the age of about 9 or 10, and sometimes even after that age, *soog* siblings are frequently together irrespective of sex. That is why one often sees a little girl with a group of small boys, or a little boy with a group of small girls. Between the ages of about 9 and 12 the sexual dichotomy prevailing in Tale culture begins to have a strong influence on the children, as we have seen. Different economic activities divide boys and girls. One rarely finds girls accompanying the herd boys or boys going for firewood with their mothers and sisters. Boys are beginning to share the interests and activities of the men, girls those of the women. Boys go about with their 'mates' (*taab*, sing. *taraan*) or 'chums' (*dɔlɔntaas*, sing. *dɔlɔntaa*) of about the same age, and girls with their girl chums. Boys of 11 and 12 are apt to be rather scornful of girls, and girls of this age turn up their noses at their boy contemporaries. Overtly, their attitudes to one another remind one of the latency phase in European children. Children round about 11 to 13 do not play together much in groups except on special occasions. Girls, in particular, are at home a good deal.

593 572 This is the time, therefore, when the sex factor begins to exercise a strong influence on the relations of siblings; age differences also become significant; and with this emerges a distinction between the social aspect of siblingship and the affective, personal aspect. A boy of 11 to 13 may make a boon companion of a half-brother or a classificatory brother from a neighbouring homestead of about his own age, leaving his younger *soog* brother or sister to his or her own devices if the difference between them is considerable. When Kɔyatee came to see me it was always with one of his chums who belonged to a different branch of his medial lineage, never with his younger *soog* brother or sister.

It is the same with girls at this stage. Ba'anzee's best friend was her classificatory 'daughter' of about her own age from the next homestead. They used to come up to the camp to call on my wife, as they generally announced to me, their arms affectionately round each other's neck. Maanyeya's daily playmate was her classificatory sister of about the same age from a neighbouring homestead—until her mother had a baby who wholly absorbed Maanyeya's delighted attention.

This tendency to seek outside friendships, though still chiefly among siblings of the same inner lineage, increases with the approach of adolescence. From the age of about 14 to 16 up to about 18 to 20 many

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'patterns of behaviour', hence they neglect or slur over variations, and sometimes indeed build whole theories on a single occurrence. For most problems of social anthropology variations are of minor importance as compared with the 'typical', and an all-round knowledge of a culture is a sufficient check of typicality. For problems of developmental psychology variations may be of the utmost importance. For example, the first case of thumb-sucking I observed was that of a girl infant 3–4 years old whose mother had recently died. Could it be assumed that this was a clear-cut instance of the thumb being substituted for the nipple? Some time later I came across another little girl, about the same age, thumb-sucking, but her mother was alive and she was not yet fully weaned. Further observation brought a few more cases of this habit to light, but it is so infrequent among Tale children that a single year's observation does not yield sufficient instances to suggest any correlation.

Generally speaking, therefore, small samples form the basis of the observations recorded in this paper. Where norms of development are implied it will be understood that an appreciable, though indeterminable, variability exists.

III. Social Sphere of the Tale Child

The process of education among the Tallensi, as among a great many other African peoples of analogous culture, is intelligible when it is recognized that the social sphere of adult and child[1] is unitary and undivided. In our own society the child's feeling and thinking and acting takes place largely in relation to a reality—to aims, responsibilities, compulsions, material objects and persons, and so forth—which differs completely from that of the adult, though sometimes overlapping it. This dichotomy is not only expressed in our customs, it comes out also in the psychological reactions which mark the indivi-

[1] I am aware that the unqualified manner in which this proposition is formulated here invites the immediate objection that it cannot possibly hold for the new-born infant, or even for the child who is inarticulate and does not yet walk or crawl. I would suggest in answer that it is impossible empirically to observe the point at which the child's affective orientation to its cultural environment first receives its bias; and also, that recent psychology and anthropology would support me in attaching basic importance to the earliest infantile responses of a child as determinants of later interests.

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dual's transition from the child's world to the adult's—e.g. the so-called negative phase or adolescent instability which has been alleged to be universal in our society.[1] It is unknown in Tale society.[2] As between adults and children, in Tale society, the social sphere is differentiated only in terms of relative capacity. All participate in the same culture, the same round of life, but in varying degrees, corresponding to the stage of physical and mental development. Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden from children or barred to them. They are actively and responsibly part of the social structure, of the economic system, the ritual and ideological system. Psychological effects of fundamental importance for Tale education follow from this. For it means that the child is from the beginning oriented towards the same reality as its parents and has the same physical and social material upon which to direct its cognitive and instinctual endowment. The interests, motives, and purposes of children are identical with those of adults, but at a simpler level of organization. Hence the children need not be coerced to take a share in economic and social activities. They are eager to do so. This does not mean that Tale children are altogether passive in the hands of their parents. Temperamental idiosyncrasies in children strike the observer at a glance. Tantrums, disobedience, destructiveness, and other aggressive outbursts occur sometimes. Among youths and adults misfits and incompetents can be found. But even they live for the same ends and have the same objective values and interests as the majority.

The unity of the social sphere is the more marked in Tale society since they have almost no social stratification within a genealogical or local community. There are no class or rank cleavages, nor highly organized and exclusive economic, political, or ritual associations cutting across the local, genealogical segmentation; and the social division of labour is rudimentary. The pattern of existence is the same for all members of a given community, varying only in texture or tone from individual to individual. The social sphere is differentiated only as between communities which are generally localized clans or lineages. Thus, the blacksmith lineage of Sakpee is unique, as

[1] See G. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 429–32, for a critical discussion of this question.

[2] Cf. also Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

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867 amused. When the child's mother tried to soothe her she first
856 struggled and struck at her, venting her chagrin on her mother. It was
861 fully ten minutes before her mother was able to quieten her by playing with her and distracting her by making her a toy of wet clay. 'They will laugh at him (or her)' or 'His comrades will laugh at him' is the commonest motive alleged for correct behaviour. If you ask a boy of 6 or 7 why he no longer plays with the little girls he says, 'If I do my comrades will laugh at me'; and little girls say the same. Adolescents, talking about their sweethearts, who are usually clan
[626] 'sisters', explain why they avoid the girls of their own section—'because our comrades will find out and laugh at us'; and the adult is equally sensitive to public opinion.

183 *The total pattern and its genetic development.* We have seen that these categories of social behaviour are not learnt in isolation one from the other but as patterns in which interests, elements of skill, and observances are combined. The Tale housewife, going several miles into the bush to collect firewood, is using knowledge of the bush tracks and of the best places for firewood acquired over a period of years; but she is impelled also by the sense of duty to her family and her own self-esteem. The Tale farmer's devotion to his agricultural pursuits is due to a passionate interest in land and crops and to a sense of moral responsibility towards his family and his ancestor spirits. His skill is but one of the factors that affect his general efficiency.

183 These total patterns which constitute the texture of Tale cultural
367 behaviour are not built up bit by bit, by addition, during the course
155 of a child's life. They are present as *schemas*[1] from the beginning. My observations suggest that the course of development is somewhat as follows: at first the child acquires a well-defined interest associated with a postural diagram of the total pattern. The postural diagram is, as it were, a contour map, extremely simplified and crude but comprehending the essential elements and relations of the full pattern. Further experience strengthens and amplifies the interest at the same time as it causes the details of the postural diagram to be filled out, making it more and more adaptable and controllable, producing more

[1] I have taken this concept from Prof. F. C. Bartlett's *Remembering*, pp. 199 ff., though its bald application here hardly does justice to the significance given to it by Prof. Bartlett, and to its value for an understanding of primitive education.

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discriminatory responses to real situations, and linking it up with other patterns of behaviour and with norms of observance. The total pattern is not built up brick by brick, like a house, but evolves from the embryonic form.

A simple demonstration of this principle is provided by a child's learning to dance. A favourite amusement of women with infants just beginning to walk is to let them dance. The tiny tot, barely able to maintain an upright posture for ten minutes or so, is set up on its legs. A couple of women—usually the women of a homestead play with an infant thus when they have no work on hand—calling out to it, with laughter and warmth, 'Come on, dance', begin to sing and clap a dance rhythm and execute a few steps. Tale infants respond with every sign of pleasure to such stimulus and by the age of about 3 have learnt, in a sketchy and diagrammatic but specifically recognizable way, the rhythms and the main steps of the festival dances. The 6-year-old has advanced so far that he or she can sometimes join the real dancing of the adolescents. His sense of rhythm is accurate, he learns the songs quickly, and he has the pattern of the dance clearly. But his dancing is extremely crude still. It tends to be mechanical and monotonous, completely lacking the improvizations and variations, the delicate tracery of step and gesture with which the skilled adult fills out the formal pattern. Every year improves the child's style, but even the adolescent has not yet perfected his or her technique. Yet from babyhood to maturity dancing ability grows continuously.

A child's knowledge of the kinship structure evolves in the same way. The schema, rudimentary and unstable as yet, can be detected in the 3–4-year-old. He or she discriminates kinsfolk from non-kinsfolk, equating the former mainly with people living in close proximity. He knows his own father and mother precisely, but already calls his mother's co-wives 'mother'. Similarly, he knows that 'father' is his own father, but that other men—in the first instance those of the same joint family—are also 'fathers', and he knows that the other kinsfolk frequently seen are brothers, sisters, grandfather, grandmother. But he is still incapable of discriminating genealogical differences; he groups people by generation and by spatial proximity. Thus an adult brother may be described as a

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or co-operative. Tale adults behave in exactly the same way. In an unfamiliar or difficult situation the best adaptation is to copy the actions and words of any one who understands the situation. Small children, whose schemas are still very rudimentary, are peculiarly apt to encounter unfamiliar elements in situations, and therefore readily resort to mimesis. Between the ages of 3 and 6 years, when the child is eagerly exploring its social space, this happens so often that it seems to develop a habit of mimicking older children in whose activities it is trying to participate. Thus, whenever I encountered little groups of children at play, pegging out goats, gleaning ground-nuts, or doing anything else, and asked the youngest, 'What are you doing?', one of the older children would reply, and the youngest repeat this reply in the same words. One evening I met four or five children from a neighbouring compound idling on a path. One was a girl of about 8 who had her brother of about 5 in tow. She noticed another child some way off and called out a message to him. The little brother, equally interested in the other child, called out and repeated the message in the same words and intonation. He was obviously not merely repeating automatically what he had heard, but endeavouring to draw the attention of the distant child and using the same method as his sister. A great deal of language learning goes on in this way.

Mimesis in play will be considered later.

Identification. A striking feature of social development among the Tallensi is the degree to which children overtly identify themselves with older siblings and parents. It is noticeable in children of 5 and 6 and becomes more marked as they grow older. The parent of the same sex is the model according to which the child regulates its conduct and from which it derives its aspirations and values. Though unwitting, the process is unmistakable. Character appears to run in families. An aggressive, loud-spoken man's children tend to become aggressive and pushing; an industrious man's sons apply themselves to work from early childhood; the dishonesty and unreliability of shifty parents tend to be reproduced in their children; and so forth. The social structure of the Tallensi with its emphasis on family and lineage solidarity, and the unity of the social sphere, encourage such identification. If one asks a child, 'Who are you?' the answer is invariably, 'I'm so-and-so's child', or 'of so-and-so's family', accom-

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panied by a manner or posture which leaves no doubt in one's mind as to who is his father or her mother. Nindɔyat of Zubiung, for instance, was notorious for his selfishness, his arrogance, and his insincerity. His son Sapak, aged 6, was his father in miniature—self-assertive, greedy, combative and refractory. Lɔyani, clansman and near neighbour of Nindɔyat, was a complete contrast to him and the most popular man in the clan. His children were among the quietest, most respectful, and most good-tempered I knew. Once they were visiting me when Sapak thrust himself upon us. Within ten minutes he had managed to offend one of the other boys and but for my presence they would have come to blows. A similar contrast in character existed between Nenaab's small daughters and Saandi's. Indeed, it would be possible to cite a dozen examples of the way parental character reappeared in children, if space permitted.

A child says, 'This is *our* dog, *our* sheep, *our* land, *our* child, *our* wife', identifying himself completely with his family. Some of the examples given in our discussion of the unity of the social sphere show how identification operates to constitute that unity. It is, obviously, the mechanism mainly responsible for the child's acquisition of interests, and therefore generates powerful motives for following out these interests derived from the world of adult activity. Hence Tale children all want to grow up. I often asked boys of 10 to 12 why they were so keen on hoeing though it was far more arduous than herding or playing about with their friends. The question puzzled many, though they were always emphatic about preferring work on the farm to herding or play. But discussion generally resolved their motives into this: 'We want to hoe because we want to be among the men and help to bring in more food'; and girls have the same attitude about domestic work and child-bearing. One day I found a small boy of about 5 struggling with a large goat. 'Where's your father?' I asked. 'Hoeing his bush farm,' he said. 'What about you,' I said, 'can you hoe?' 'Of course I can,' he replied proudly, 'didn't I hoe the whole compound farm?' I teased him a bit, asking him about the details of farming, and eventually he said, 'No, I can't hoe. I'm still too small.' Similarly, a little girl of about 8 told me that she had accompanied some older girls to the bush for firewood the previous day. Her mother burst out

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153 laughing and called to me: 'Don't believe her, she's much too small.'
867 But these innocent fabrications illustrate the contents of children's
155 identifications with adults.[1]

861 153 *Co-operation.* Mention has previously been made of children's co-operation in the ordinary social and particularly economic activities in a manner and to an extent commensurate with their maturity at the time. But it must be referred to again in order to emphasize why it is specially important for children's learning. The little girl who goes with her mother to the water-hole and is given a tiny pot of water to carry is making only an infinitesimal contribution to the household's water supply. Yet it is a real contribution. She learns to carry her little pot of water in relation to a real need of the household. The boy at a sacrifice called to hold the leg of a carcass while it is skinned not only receives his first lessons in anatomy thus; he is performing a task necessary for the completion of the ceremony. The children summoned to carry balls of swish for the men building a house are contributing valuable labour. The child's training in duty and skill is always socially productive and therefore psychologically worth while to him; it can never become artificial or boring.

Yet as long as the child's co-operation is limited to subsidiary assistance—that is, until he reaches adolescence—it includes an element emanating from the child's own psychology, an element of play. Upon the adult Talənɑ the economic system bears down with a disciplinary and constraining effect. The house must be built, plastered, and thatched in time, before the rains come; the crops must be planted, hoed, harvested at the right moment, and the penalty for negligence is severe. The child cannot yet experience this. Its co-operation is still partly wish-fulfilment and has for it the attractions of an imaginative experiment. Thus, whenever there is building in progress, they play at building as well as help carrying swish; and the play part is for the child of equal importance with the work.

153 524 [824] *Play in relation to social development.* The concept of play (*ba deemrəme*, 'they are playing') is well defined and clearly recognized by the

[1] This exposition of identification is over-simplified in order not to burden the general argument. In Taleland, as elsewhere, it is not the sole determinant of character formation. It has been stressed here in order to underline its educational importance.

1 [A Kind of mud mortar -- Analyst]